1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AM50 Badaga AM50

764
783
(539)

The recitation is repeated thrice, and a few Badagas repeat the last words of each line after the elder. It was noticed by the Rev. A. C. Clayton that, during the recitation, the people surrounded the bier on three sides, leaving a lane open to the west. The sins of the dead man were transferred to another as sin-bearer, and finally passed away down the lane. As the ceremony witnessed by us differs materially from the account thereof given by Gover nearly forty years ago, I may quote his description. "By a conventional mode of expression, the sum total of sins a man may do is said to be thirteen hundred. Admitting that the deceased has committed them all, the performer cries aloud 'Stay not their flight to God's pure feet.' As he closes, the whole assembly chants aloud 'Stay not their flight.' Again the performer enters into details, and cries 'He killed the crawling snake. It is a sin.' In a moment the last word is caught up, and all the people cry 'It is a sin.' As they shout, the performer lays his hand upon the calf. The sin is transferred to the calf. Thus the whole catalogue is gone through in this impressive way. But this is not enough. As the last shout 'Let all be well' dies away, the performer gives place to another, and again confession is made, and all the people shout 'It is a sin.' A third time it is done. Then, still in solemn silence, the calf is let loose. Like the Jewish scapegoat, it may never be used for secular work." Dr. Rivers writes that "the Badagas let loose a calf at a funeral, to bear the sins of the deceased. It is possible that the calf in the Toda ceremony may have the same significance. If so, the practice has not improbably been borrowed, and the fact that the bell which is hung on the neck of the calf is kept by Kotas or Badagas suggests that the whole incident may have been bor-

[71]

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

764 rowed by the Todas from one or other of these races."
783 At the funerals, of which we were spectators, no calf was
brought near the corpse, and the celebrants of the rites
(171) were satisfied with the mere mention by name of a calf,
which is male or female according to the sex of the
deceased. At the funeral witnessed by the Rev. A. C.
Clayton, a cow-buffalo was led three times round the
bier, and a little of its milk, drawn at the time, put into
the mouth of the corpse. Then a buffalo calf was led
thrice round the bier, and the dead man's hand laid on
its head. By this act, the calf was supposed to receive
all the sins of the deceased. It was then driven away to
a great distance, that it might contaminate no one, and
764 it was said that it would never be sold, but looked on
843 as a dedicated sacred animal. If a dead man leaves a
widow in a state of pregnancy, who has not performed
the kanni kattodu or marriage thread ceremony, this
must be gone through before the corpse is taken to the
pyre, in order to render the child legitimate. The preg-
nant woman is, at the time of the funeral, brought close
to the cot, and a near relation of the deceased, taking up
a cotton thread, twisted in the form of a necklace with-
out any knots, throws it round her neck. Sometimes
the hand of the corpse is lifted up with the thread, and
made to place it round the neck. At the funeral of
the young man, Mr. Clayton saw this ceremony per-
formed on his pregnant wife. After a turmeric-dyed
cord had been taken from the hands of the corpse and
tied round her neck, she was again brought to the side
of the bier, and her ear-rings, nose ornaments, and other
articles of jewellery, were removed in token that she had
764 become a widow. Soon after the recitation of sins, all
(824) the agnates go to the house of the dead man, at the
entrance to which a gunny-bag is spread, whereon a small

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AM50 Badaga AM50

MOIETIES

Some societies, among them the Todas and Australian aborigines, have only two phratries, which are then called moieties. Other societies, notably in the lowland areas of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal, have a number of endogamous phratries ranked into long-lasting social hierarchies; such units, called *jatis* or subcastes, may summate to castes or to *jati*-clusters (cf. Mandelbaum, 1970, *passim*).

Badaga society, consisting of forty-four clans and ten phratries, is now in the anomalous position of being to some extent a moiety organization, to some extent a *jati* organization. This situation has arisen, I suggest, because two different models have been available to the Badagas for emulation, a Brahminic one known to them from lowland caste society and—unique in India—a tribal one represented by Toda social organization. Their situation became yet more complex when in the nineteenth century Westernization also began, and a tenth Christian phratry grew out of six of the others. This complexity has not been properly appreciated, for though several earlier writers have described Badaga society as a hierarchy of subcastes none has considered it to have moieties. Yet the neighbouring Todas possess a well-known moiety system. In their case there are now sixteen exogamous patrilineal clans, six in Teivali (tövfily) moiety and ten in Tarthar (to:ɾθas). The two moieties are endogamous, and Tarthar has a ritual superiority over Teivali which is expressed by ownership of the most sacred grades of temple and buffalo; the priests who sacrifice buffalo calves belong to Teivali.[2]

The Badagas show much more cultural diversity than the Todas, largely as an effect of having come at various times from different places and from varying caste and religious backgrounds. Nevertheless we may consider them (at least for the sake of argument) to have two well-defined, culturally heterogeneous moieties—one vegetarian, the other not. As we have already seen, the act of eating meat placed some ancestral groups definitively in one moiety, where they have since remained. In this connexion it is worth noting that while both Toda moieties are vegetarian, it is only the priests of the lower moiety (Teivali) who kill calves and also the more sacred buffaloes sacrificed at a funeral. A further parallel between the two societies is that, just as Todas of Teivali moiety have to perform certain priestly functions for Tarthar, so

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

171 men in the Ha:ruva and Wodea clans perform a priestly role only
616 for clans of the other Badaga moiety. Among Todas a kind of secondary marriage is permissible between the otherwise endogamous moieties (Rivers, 1906, 699–700); among Badagas formal marriage may sometimes occur between the usually endogamous moieties, provided that the man or woman from the meat-eating moiety abstain from meat while in the presence of the vegetarian
178 spouse. It is important to note that the present trend in Badaga
616 society is towards total endogamy of each moiety: Ha:ruva, Adikiri and Kaggusi marriage with Gaudas has been decreasing in this century, and Lingayats now avoid marrying into the Ha:ruva families which also have marriage connexions with Gaudas; yet hypogamy and hypergamy are both still permissible. Were the Badagas moving towards a caste model of society, one might expect hypogamy to disappear (since it is not usual in caste societies) and further culinary distinctions to be adopted. For example, distinctions might then be made, as elsewhere in India, between those who eat beef, those who take mutton but no beef, those eating eggs but no meat and those solely vegetarian. Yet no such complication is emerging: people are strengthening the boundary between households of vegetarian and of non-vegetarian
[171] diet, but no finer distinctions are drawn. The moiety of vegetarians
[177] includes all of the clans noted for their religious orthodoxy, while the larger non-vegetarian moiety includes most of the better
[184] educated, somewhat westernized and economically influential families.

SEPTS

612 The Badaga clans are reputedly distributed among sixteen septs which, it is asserted, cross-cut all of South Indian society. In their theory every clan of every Hindu caste is affiliated to one or more exogamous *kolas;* the Badaga clans were of the same *kolas* even before leaving Mysore, and indeed fourteen of their *kolas* are still identifiable among Mysore castes. *Kola* has thus to be defined as a sept or patrilineal descent group, 'a group of persons, all of whom believe themselves to be related, owning some relation to an object animate or inanimate, and exhibiting the taboo-behaviour towards it. . . . There does not appear to be any larger organisation comprising the various kulas (Srinivas, 1942, 32). Their distribution, according to Badaga elders, is as follows:

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AWSO Badaga AWSO

ceremonial delicacy, are also served to those who are not polluted (Rivers 1906: 368-369). There follows singing and dancing among the men, some of whom have come from other Toda hamlets for the event.

Rivers (1906: 177) comments briefly: "The object of this ceremony is said to be that the buffaloes shall give a plentiful supply of milk." Part of Emeneau's translation of a song (no. 14) expressed more clearly what is in the minds of the Todas during this ceremony (I quote five verses from it; the rest of the song describes the ceremony and its setting):

Tell the clouds to rise in the sky!
Tell the shade to fall densely!
Tell the beautiful season of showers: "Come!"
Tell the beautiful dews: "Fall!"
Tell the buffalo which has calved a year or more ago:
"Give milk that runs over the handle of the milking vessel!"
Tell the one ball of butter: "Be filtered overflowing the kīdy measure!"
Tell the barren woman: "Bear a child!"
Tell the barren buffalo: "Bear a calf!"
Tell all the sacred places: "Bless us!"
Tell all the gods: "Do charity!"

It will be noticed that the wishes expressed in this part of the song are almost identical with those we have recorded in the prayer of the Badagas.

Aside from the general intent of this ceremony, we can see that certain of its features parallel the Badaga institution. The priest is in a pure state, and he sprinkles buffalo dung on the floor of the dairy-temple before going out to perform the ceremony. The hole he has dug is of similar shape and size to the Badaga ones, and is located by a stream. Most of the ritual acts are performed three times; as Rivers (1906: 412-413) observes, three is an especially sacred number, and many ritual acts are performed three times. Bark from a wild plant considered highly sacred by the Todas is used in this ceremony as well as certain other rituals. In all these respects the ceremony is closely similar to the Badaga one: it is performed at the same time of year, and it bears a name cognate to the Badaga *'ka:ruppu*.

Yet there are also important differences. The Toda ceremony is performed by the priest alone, on behalf of his entire hamlet. In the Badaga institution, representatives of each family as well as their leaders take roles in it. In fact, it is characteristic of the Toda dairy rituals that only the man who has been sanctified as priest can perform them. As Rivers (1906: 244-245) says:

> The impurity of the ordinary man does not prevent him from visiting the dairies of the lower grade, but it prohibits him from taking any part whatever in the actual dairy operations. . . . He is perhaps regarded as unsanctified rather than impure.

The cattle shed, the green, and the home play no part in the Toda salt-giving ceremony; and the ceremonial food which is prepared by men and offered to the gathering does not include some of the priest's salt. Women, it is clear, do not play the "backstage" part in the Toda ceremony

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations. Hence a single event may evoke a number of different and contradictory beliefs among different persons. (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 540)

Much the same thing could be said of Badaga medicine. It is much more of a craft than a science, a fact that Weber recognized long ago as characterizing Indian therapy in general: "Medicine...in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation" (1930: 14).

The very fact that Badaga therapy has some of the characteristics of an art allows each therapist to elaborate the system in her own creative way wherever she sees a benefit in doing so. This brings us to a most important theoretical topic that should be central to all anthropological writing on cultural change, but curiously has not been: namely the role of women in cultural change. What seems like a conspiracy of silence on the subject has come about because of a greater concentration on processes than on personnel. Redfield, Kroeber, and many of their students have concerned themselves with such topics as innovation, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, and so on, but have for the most part left the impression that these were realms of male activity. Such a misconception arose from a simplistic view of the role of women in alien societies. Indeed, in many of the societies studied it was difficult for male anthropologists to conduct extensive interviews with female informants: the view of female roles was thus to some extent a paraphrase of what male informants within the society saw those female roles to be.... And of course they were commonly stated to be woman as mother, woman as housekeeper, woman as trader, woman as agriculturist; more rarely, woman as politician or as lover. But woman as disciplinarian, poet, philosopher or innovator were topics scarcely ever touched in the cultural change literature. In the Badaga case it seems likely that while men did innovate in such areas as ritual and animal husbandry, women were commonly the innovators in therapy and midwifery, while both sexes probably had a role to play in the extensive agricultural and social innovations that followed upon their settlement on the Nilgiris.

1.13. For convenience we will now summarize very briefly the range of therapeutic practices that are to be described below in Chapters 5-8.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

252 visiting affine, for otherwise he will conclude that he is not welcome
[574] in the house. One should eat with one's relatives: "If eaten with ten
people it is milk; if eaten by oneself it is shit." Several proverbs
252 suggest that not all affines are to be made welcome, though: "Is it
539 a bad thing for the affine who has become ruined and came [to us to
eat] a poor quality of finger millet and sour buttermilk?" The useless housewife is one who is too lazy to cook regularly: "Not caring about her husband's hunger, a bad wife will eat the old food herself [rather than cook]."

Earth-eating

261 2.4. The eating of earths is widespread in South India (Hooper and Mann 1906: 254). We find that the practice has been reported in particular from the part of Mysore whence the Badagas fled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that a baked edible clay is even sold in the bazaars there (Thurston 1901: 121; Hooper and Mann 1906: 256). In that part of Mysore the consumption of raw or baked clay was fairly common among women especially, and was said to bring no ill effects. An informant did however state that
261 among chronic earth-eaters "their appearance suggests that they
164 are suffering from pernicious anaemia, the face being unnaturally swollen or puffed and the abdomen distended, while the limbs are shrunk except at the joints, which appear enlarged and are said to be painful" (Thurston 1901: 121). Early medical officers reported on the dire consequences of habitual earth-eating, especially mentioning anaemia and dysentery (Hooper and Mann 1906: 263-70).
[165] It has not been possible to discover whether the high death-rate due to dysentery among Badagas (see 9.7) can be attributed in part to this habit. Hooper and Mann (1906: 254) reported the practice as
261 widespread throughout India, and as chiefly confined to labourers
•[171] and pregnant women, including Badagas. The practice is common amongst them, pregnant women being especially fond of the earth, even though older people abuse them for eating it because they do not think it a foodstuff. The earth, said to have a pleasant taste and smell, is yellowish-brown in colour, and is called *suttekaḷ*. It is actually a weathered feldspar, chemically aluminium silicate, and is the
261 same thing as kaolin. Humans do of course need traces of aluminium
146 in their diet. Dietary deficiency where soils are heavily leached might thus explain the practice; as it perhaps does the eating of charcoal

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

without some further notes on body ornaments. Men as well as women usually wear gold earrings, which are still made from melted gold sovereigns. Women also have gold nose-rings, always worn in the left nostril. Gold, silver or brass armlets may be worn by women just above the right elbow. Numerous silver, gold or glass bangles will be on the wrists; men too wore a silver bangle and silver or copper toe-rings until 50 years ago. Silver or steel rings are worn on the fingers of both sexes (Thurston 1909: 81-82). Necklaces of great variety are also favoured by girls. In general, where gold ornaments are too costly women wear them in filagree silver, brass, copper, iron or steel instead (Grigg 1880: 220). Badagas believe that if a person wears gold, the length of his lifetime will be greater. One might think that wearing gold invited theft; but in fact it seems that this did not often occur amongst the Badagas. Throughout the nineteenth century men, when travelling from village to village, carried a walking-staff with a small axe-head in lieu of the handle, for protection. When however they were to walk to the plains on a trading expedition (prior to 1825) they would first divest themselves of all ornaments, including even their silver waist-bands and any richly made cloak. They were clearly very afraid of brigands, even though they travelled in a group of up to 100 men.

This still does not complete the list of ornaments, however. Priests wear a silver ring during each festival. Some of the headmen wear gold or silver "rings of office" on their fingers, given to their ancestors by East India Company officials or even earlier chieftains of Mysore. The headman of Ke:ti wears one called *sinaganige*, which his ancestor seems to have taken from another Badaga headman after a hand-to-hand fight. It is now worshipped in his home every Monday. Such rings can always be given as security against a fine, and are conventionally worth 1,000 rupees in gold coins. Women who go barefoot — still the great majority today — wear silver rings on three or four toes of each foot. (In Southern India slippers are associated mainly with Muslim women and Hindu dancing girls.)

Until about 1930, it was the custom for men to carry non-collapsible umbrellas made of palm leaves on a cane frame. (Such umbrellas can still be seen in Kerala occasionally.) Since the Nilgiri Plateau is very wet for a part of the year (roughly 20 ins. in May-July, and another 30 ins. the rest of the year), these or their more recent Western equivalents often substitute for a walking stick. Until very recently it was thought disrespectful to the men for women to carry

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

when they have been blessed with a son.

3.18. We have pointed out above (3.16) that Badagas have some idea of a "safe period" at the end of the menstrual cycle, and they also believe the middle of the cycle is when conception occurs. Beyond this, however, there was no idea of contraception until public health officials recently began the family planning campaign. This advice, given out by government officials, for years fell on deaf ears because it was addressed to the men of the community. When I asked 420 Badaga adults of both sexes, in 1963, whether some form of birth control should be encouraged to improve village life, not a single person said Yes. In the late 1960s however the programme began to be more effective because illiterate old Badaga women pointed out to younger women the benefits of having fewer children. Intra-uterine devices seem to be the method most women favour; but some men have submitted to vasectomies, and women have sometimes been sterilized after a difficult delivery in hospital. I am unaware of any distribution of government-supplied contraceptives to Badaga men except during a very brief campaign nearly 20 years ago. Men are however encouraged to have vasectomies with the offer of free transportation to the hospital, 60 rupees, and a transistor radio. K. Sithamma said she disapproved of this programme because if a man's children should die once he has been sterilized he cannot have any more. In her view the only proper way to restrict births is to stop having coitus until another child is wanted; abstinence was seemingly often counselled to the poor. Whether a woman gets pregnant or remains barren is the will of God, and because a pregnancy is his gift abortion would be a sin. "You should build the house; God should give you children." Nonetheless one does hear of unmarried girls aborting by eating a lot of greasy chicken until they vomit, the stomach spasms sometimes having the desired effect. (Among the neighbouring Irula tribe a two-inch twig of swallow wort is reportedly placed in the vagina to bring about an abortion; Nambiar and Bharati 1965: 70).

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Toda AW60

CHAPTER III

PASTORALISTS AND GRASSLANDS

B 121 T 361 T 174 T 234 177 B 174 B T 171

The occupance patterns described in this chapter are related to Toda, Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota pastoralism associated with temperate grassland, tropical savanna, or subtropical savanna formation. Todas, who herd only buffaloes, established hamlets, dairy-temple centers, and cremation centers on the temperate upper Nilgiris. They also started transhumance in which buffaloes are moved westward in the dry season and eastward before westerly monsoon rains start. Distinctive Toda dwellings and temples, forming types, are indicators of an ancient culture. Ancestral Todas may have domesticated buffaloes in the distant past. Clarified butter production in dwellings and dairy-temples has long been their essential economic activity. Continued acculturation in this century has resulted in some Todas turning to cash income through milk sales and agriculture.

According to folklore, ancestral Badagas came to the Nilgiris after fleeing persecution from Moslems in Mysore. Several migrations may have occurred after approximately 1200 A.D. On the upper Nilgiris the enterprising Badágas, who are the leading agriculturists, apparently learned to exploit temperate grasslands by borrowing ideas from Todas. The Bergani dairy-temple center, sacred buffalo herd, and ritual to ensure Badaga prosperity may be somewhat equated with Toda dairy-temple centers, sacred buffaloes, and ritual to ensure Toda

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Toda AW60

B 171 prosperity. Badagas also turned to horizontal transhumance motivated by seasonal variations in rainfall. Their temporarily used western livestock centers are called bundis. In the Mysore Ditch, north of the Nilgiri massif (Figures 1 and 2), the Badagas found another B 231 exploitable niche. Badaga livestock kept there all year are cared [361] for by Kasuvas. Livestock centers with house types occupied by [648] Kasuvas are related to the symbiotic Badaga-Kasuva relationship. Although agricultural Kotas may have inhabited the upper Nilgiris Ko 231 for over a millennium, only a few residents from Kirgoj graze buffaloes out of temporarily inhabited livestock centers on the temperate grasslands.

B 121 128 The following steps guide narration in this and later chapters: Generalized outlines of occupance patterns (equated with varying ways in which men have occupied landscapes) are followed by data relating to distinctive dwellings and sacred structures (occupance forms) labeled types. Discussion then shifts to economic activities altering landscapes around occupance sites to the greatest degree. Other economic activities altering landscapes to either a lesser or negligible degree are then discussed. Discourse turns to trades and services generated by members of the group under consideration and leading to economic intercourse with outsiders. Lastly, employment in economies generated by outsiders is considered. If a step is not applicable, it is omitted. In the case of Badaga, Badaga-Kasuva, and Kota occupance patterns described in this chapter, narration does not move beyond economic activities altering landscapes to a marked degree.

Because Nilgiri pastoralists have played such a vital role in

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva AW63

NOTES

[1]The trend had started by 1905 (Rivers 1906: 23-24).

[2]A Toda green funeral ends with the deceased's cremation. Relics of the deceased, such as hair and portions of the skull, are kept for the second dry funeral. Ritual performed over the relics in a dry funeral resembles ritual used in the green funeral, and the relics are finally burned in an agaram. Kotas also have green and dry funerals. In contrast to Todas, the dry funeral honors all who have died during a year. Thus, on a set date, funeral ritual is performed over the relics of Kota community members who have died since the last dry funeral.

[3]For convenience, the terms used by Rivers (1906) are adhered to in this section pertaining to Todas. For information regarding ritual and uses of the two fireplaces in the Mŏdr dairy-temple, see Rivers 1906: 91-92.

[4]Wrestling with bulls on pastoral tracts in the sixth century A.D. is described in the Tamilian work, Mullaikkali. The sporting bulls varied from the wild gaur, or a close relative, to a fully domesticated bull with white spots on brown skin. That the sport was dangerous is emphasized by the fact that eventually the bulls' horns became "red with blood and had guts winding around them." As "the son of the buffalo-herd" is also mentioned, the same people were probably herding buffaloes (Iyengar 1929: 578-580).

[5]The Raa Phasé Pardi tribesmen of Maharashtra still employ cattle and cloth screens to approach game (Kosambi 1967: 104).

[6]This data was obtained from Kwodron, Seventh Day Adventist Mission, Coonoor, 1965.

[7]Murray B. Emeneau has written about Christian Todas who turned to agriculture (Emeneau 1939: 93-106). For information concerning agriculture near Toda hamlets, the writer is indebted to Anthony Walker.

[8]In 1865 a hunter described a fight to the finish between a gaur and tiger near a camp located by the small Upper Bhavani Stream on the upper Nilgiris. The hunter's friend shot two gaurs near the fight location (Old Shekarry 1865: 241, 252-257).

[9]The tentative period is based upon an approximate period established through archaeological work conducted by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and artifactual finds (Wheeler 1959: 162-163).

6: Noble K,4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

CHAPTER VI

NILGIRI WYNAAD BADAGAS AND KOTAS

B 175 166 361 182 [184] B [133] B [132] B [177] B [171] Ko 241 184

The few scattered Badaga communities in the Nilgiri Wynaad have resulted from slow and continuing Badaga colonization which may extend back to a pre-1800 date. The ancestors of Kotas occupying a single hamlet probably came to serve the Todas who once lived in the Wynaad. Although Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas and upper Nilgiri Badagas are culturally affiliated, the occupance patterns related to them vary (Table IV). Several factors are responsible for the variations: Because the Wynaad is covered by a plateau with rolling hills and occasional ranges, topographic conditions are ideal for growing wet rice in broad valleys and dry field crops on hills. The climate is warm enough to permit the growth of wet rice, but too dry for two rice crops to be harvested annually from a single field. Dry seasonal conditions, reflected by estivating trees, also lead to the growth of only one dry field crop per year. Combined with the physical influences are the Malabarian, Malayalee cultural influences. Thus, Badaga house construction, employment of Paniya laborers, garden maintenance, and manner of wet rice cultivation with aid of implements drawn by buffaloes follow patterns associated with their neighbors. Kalac Kotas at Gudalur, who live in atypical houses and have lost their dry fields, continue to cultivate wet rice in the same manner as the Badagas. Nilgiri Wynaad Kota trades are similar to those of upper Nilgiri Kotas.